

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 PM-05 IO-13 NSC-05 AID-05 EB-08 SOE-02
AF-10 ARA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 EUR-12 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-01 DOE-15 SAS-02 CEQ-01 OES-09 SS-15 ICA-11
ISO-00 SIG-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /180 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/WEC/SI:DGALLIK/ACDA/MA/IR:TBARTHELEMY
APPROVED BY IO:GBHELMAN
ACDA/D/C:AYARMOLINSKY
ACDA/WEC/SI:ACAHN
PM/DCA:MARIETTI
NSC:JMATTHEWS
ACDA/WEC:BBLECHMAN
NEA/RA:WGROSS
DOD/ISA:SBUCKLEY
IO/UNP:JWARD
AID/PPC:MJHEY
ARA/RPP:SQUIGG
EUR/RPM:LBRECKON
EB/IFD:SDONNELLY
AF/I:WLEWIS
EA/RA:MEILAND

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
INFO AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMCONSUL AMSTERDAM
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY NASSAU
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 217721
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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA

SUBJECT: 33RD UNGA: MILITARY EXPENDITURE LIMITATION AND
REPORTING (MEL/R)

REFS: A) UN DOCUMENT A/9770/REV. 1, B) A/31'222; A/32/194,
C) A/AC.187/95, D) A/S-10/6 AND ADD.1, E) STATE 169345
(1977), F) STATE 76583, G) STATE 97962, H) A/1/36,
I) A/C.1/32/PV. 37, J) MONROVIA 2893

1. AS NOTED IN FINAL US STATEMENT AT SSOD, US IS DIS-
APPOINTED THAT CONSENSUS WAS NOT REACHED RECOGNIZING
STANDARDIZED MEASUREMENT AND REPORTING OF MILITARY EXPENDI-
TURES AS ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION TO NEGOTIATED MILITARY
EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS (MEL) OR REDUCTIONS OF MILITARY
BUDGETS (ROMB). FINAL STATEMENT ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT
33RD UNGA WOULD RETURN TO THESE QUESTIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE
MANNER. THIS MESSAGE OUTLINES THE RECORD AND INSTRUCTS
DELEGATION IN PREPARATION FOR UNGA DEBATE.

2. BACKGROUND

THE U.S. BECAME ACTIVE IN MEL FOLLOWING TABLING IN UN IN
1973 OF SOVIET PROPOSAL CALLING ON MAJOR POWERS TO AGREE
TO REDUCE THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS BY 10 . UNDER STRONG

INFLUENCE OF US EXPERTS, MEXICAN-INITIATED EXPERT GROUP
REPORT OF 1974. (REF A), DELINEATED PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED

WITH NEGOTIATION OF MEL IN SOME DETAIL.

B. SINCE 1975, WE HAVE PROMOTED EXPERT STUDIES LEADING TO
A RECOMMENDED STANDARD FORMAT, WITH DEFINITIONS AND DETAIL,
FOR REPORTING MILITARY EXPENDITURES. THE RESULTING STUDIES
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IN 1976 AND 1977 (REF B) RECOMMENDED THAT THE STANDARD FOR-
MAT BE TESTED IN FIELD TRIALS WITH PARTICIPATION OF
"REPRESENTATIVE" COUNTRIES (THE LATTER REFLECTED ABSENCE
OF SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES IN EXPERT GROUPS SINCE 1974 AND
NOTABLE RELUCTANCE OF LDCS TO JOIN).

C. US HAS SUPPORTED THE FIELD TRIAL IN THE UNGA AND IN
EXPERT GROUPS. WHEN THE 32ND UNGA, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP
OF MEXICO AND SWEDEN, DID NOT COME UP WITH A RESOLUTION
MANDATING A FIELD TRIAL, US SUCCESSFULLY PROPOSED AN
AMENDMENT REQUESTING SYG TO CANVASS STATES ON WILLINGNESS
TO PARTICIPATE IN A FIELD TRIAL. RESULT OF THIS SURVEY
WAS THAT NO COMMUNIST STATE OR LDC AGREED TO PARTICIPATE
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D. AT THE SSOD, SWEDEN PROPOSED LANGUAGE IN THE PROGRAM
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IT IN THE FACE OF SOVIET OPPOSITION AND ABSENCE OF COMMIT-
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CALLED FOR SUPERPOWER MILEX REDUCTIONS WITH MINIMAL
REFERENCE TO REPORTING BUT DID NOT ACTIVELY PROMOTE ITS
OWN TEXT.

E. AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, CANADA, DENMARK, THE NETHERLANDS,
NEW ZEALAND, SWEDEN, AND US ARE PREPARED TO SUBMIT
DEFENSE BUDGET DATA TO A UN PILOT TEST. JAPANESE AND UK
PARTICIPATION IS CONDITIONED ON PARTICIPATION OF SOME
EAST EUROPEAN AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AS WELL. FRG
ATTITUDE IS SUPPORTIVE, BUT STRESSES NEED FOR BROAD
REPRESENTATION AND THE SURPERFLUITY OF ITS OWN PARTICIPATION
GIVEN THE NUMBER OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

F. FIELD TRIAL CONCEPT HAS GENERALLY GAINED ONLY MILD
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SUPPORT FROM LDCS, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF RELUCTANCE TO
REPORT THEIR OWN EXPENDITURE, BELIEF THAT THE ISSUE IS
ONE FOR SUPERPOWERS TO RESOLVE, OR BOTH. TWENTY LDCS
VOTED FOR US-PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO RES. 32/85 REGARDING
FIELD TRIAL. EFFORTS TO ENLIST LDC SUPPORT FOR FIELD

TRIAL AT REGULAR UNGA SESSIONS AND SSOD WERE SUPPLEMENTED BY DEMARCHES IN SELECTED CAPITALS IN SUMMER OF 1977 AND SPRING OF 1978 (PER REFS E, F, G). THESE EFFORTS RESULTED IN ONLY FOUR LDCS INDICATING DEFINITE SUPPORT FOR FIELD

TRIAL CONCEPT AND ONLY LIBERIA INDICATING PROBABLE PARTICIPATION.

G. PROSPECTS FOR A FIELD TRIAL DEPEND ON CONTINUED SWED-SH, UK AND JAPANESE SUPPORT, BUT ESPECIALLY ON SOME CREDIBLE LDC PARTICIPATION. WE ARE ALSO CONSIDERING POSSIBLE FALLBACK STRATEGY AT 33RD UNGA; NAMELY RESOLUTION ENDORSING VOLUNTARY NATIONAL MER BASED ON THE STANDARD FORMAT AS IT STANDS. SUCH RESOLUTION COULD ALSO BE COMPANION TO RES MANDATING PILOT TEST."DISARMAMENT YEARBOOK," MANDATED BY RESOLUTION 31/90, COULD INSTITUTIONALIZE SUCH REPORTING. YEARBOOK IS INTENDED TO CARRY "FACTUAL INFORMATION, AS COMMUNICATED BY GOVERNMENTS OR APPEARING IN THEIR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS ON SUCH TOPICS AS MILITARY EXPENDITURES." (REF. H, P.7). HOWEVER, FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MANDATE FOR FIELD TRIAL FOLLOWED BY ENDORSEMENT OF STANDARD MER FORMAT HAVE PROCEDURALLY BLOCKED USE OF YEARBOOK TO PUBLISH MILITARY EXPENDITURE INFORMATION. THIS RESULTS FROM WESTERN-BACKED LANGUAGE REQUIRING FORMAL UN AGREEMENT ON REPORTING CRITERIA. UNGA RESOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE WOULD REMOVE THIS IMPEDIMENT. SUCH RESOLUTION WOULD MAKE CLEAR THIS IS ONLY A PARTIAL MEASURE.

3. INSTRUCTIONS.

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USUN IS REQUESTED TO APPROACH DELEGATIONS INDICATED BELOW TO PRESENT US VIEWS ON MEL/R AND DESIRED UNGA ACTION AND TO REPORT THEIR VIEWS. IN THOSE CASES WHERE USUN BELIEVES NO APPROPRIATE CONTACT IS OR WILL BE AVAILABLE IN NEAR FUTURE IN NEW YORK, MISSION IS REQUESTED TO INFORM US PROMPTLY SO THAT WE MAY REQUEST ACTION IN CAPITALS OR TAKE IT IN WASHINGTON. INFO ADDRESSEES THAT FEEL THEY HAVE NEW INFORMATION THAT COULD BE HELPFUL ARE REQUESTED TO REPORT WITHOUT WAITING FOR AN ACTION REQUEST.

A. SWEDEN

SWEDEN SHOULD BE SOUNDED OUT ON ITS CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS FOR FIELD TRIAL AND ON POSSIBLE FALLBACK RESOLUTION CALLING FOR VOLUNTARY MER BASED ON PRESENT FORMAT. SWEDES MAY BE WILLING TO TAKE THE LEAD ON FALLBACK RESOLUTION IN ABSENCE OF LDC VOLUNTEERS FOR FIELD TEST.

B. MEXICO

MEXICO SHOULD BE SOUNDED OUT AS TO ITS PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD A FIELD TRIAL. SWEDEN REPORTED TO US AT END OF MAY THAT MILITARY CIRCLES HAD VETOED 8NY MEXICAN COMMITMENT TO FIELD TRIAL PARTICIPATION. MEXICO SHOULD BE TACTFULLY REMINDED THAT IN THE DEBATE ON RES. 32/85 LAST FALL MEXICAN DELEGATE (GARCIA ROBLES) EXPRESSED "COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH THE NEED TO HAVE A COMPARABLE SYSTEM FOR STANDARDIZED REPORTING" AND IMPLIED STRONGLY THAT HIS PATIENCE WITH SOVIET UNION, CAUSING HIM TO DEFER PRESSING FOR STEPS ALONG THE LINES OF A FIELD TRIAL, WOULD RUN OUT IF SITUATION REMAINED UNCHANGED AT THE 33RD UNGA
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(REF I). MEXICO SHOULD ALSO BE ENCOURAGED TO RAISE ISSUE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN LATIN AMERICAN ARMS RESTRAINT INITIATIVE.

C. WESTERN ALLIES

IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO SOUND OUT UK, JAPAN, AND FRG ON THEIR CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO PRESS FOR FIELD TRIAL NATURE OF SUFFICIENT LDC PARTICIPATION, AND WHETHER THEY WOULD AGREE TO SUBMIT THEIR ME DATA IN CURRENT STANDARD FORMAT FOR UN PUBLICATION, PER PARA 2.G. OTHER COUNTRIES CITED THERE AS HAVING SUPPORTED FIELD TRIAL CONCEPT SHOULD BE CONTACTED TO DETERMINE THEIR PRESENT ATTITUDES TOWARD ALTERNATIVES. CAN WE ASSUME THEY WOULD AGREE TO SUBMIT DATA IF FALLBACK RESOLUTION WERE PASSED BY UNGA?

D. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

USUN SHOULD INFORM REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES INDICATED IN SUBPARAS 1 AND 2 BELOW THAT WE ARE HOPEFUL OF PASSAGE OF FIELD TRIAL RESOLUTION IN THE 33RD UNGA, URGE THEIR SUPPORT, AND REMIND THEM THAT WE SEE LITTLE HOPE FOR ME REDUCTIONS, WITH PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS THEY CARRY, WITHOUT DEVELOPING ME ACCOUNTABILITY. WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FIELD TRIAL RESOLUTION OR CONCEPT, MISSION SHOULD ALSO MAKE DISCRETE SOUNDINGS REGARDING ALTERNATIVE RESOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE.

YOU SHOULD ALSO DRAW ON FOLLOWING, AS APPROPRIATE:

-- IN RES. 32/85, ADOPTED OVERWHELMINGLY BY A VOTE OF 120 TO 2 (ALBANIA AND CHINA) WITH 13 ABSENCES (SOVIET BLOC EXCLUDING ROMANIA PLUS MAURITANIA, SWAZILAND, AND UGANDA), UNGA RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF A SATISFACTORY INSTRUMENT FOR STANDARDIZED MER AND THAT

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WORK ON REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS BY SUCCESSIVE GROUPS OF EXPERTS HAD MOVED WHOLE EXERCISE FORWARD SO THAT PRACTICAL STEPS FOR TESTING AND REFINING PROPOSED REPORTING INSTRUMENT COULD NOW BE TAKEN. WE BELIEVE INSTITUTION OF SUCH PRACTICAL STEPS IS MOST REASONABLE NEXT ORDER OF BUSINESS.

-- LANGUAGE IN PARA 87 OF SSOD PROGRAM OF ACTION WAS BLAND AS DEMANDED BY CONSENSUS PROCEDURES, BUT IT REFERRED TO A "MUTUALLY AGREED BASIS" THAT "WILL REQUIRE WAYS AND MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING" MEASURES CONTRIBUTING TO A REALLOCATION OF RESOURCES, "TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ASSESSING THE RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF REDUCTIONS AS AMONG DIFFERENT STATES." IN OUR VIEW, THIS CAN ONLY MEAN SOLVING PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON WHICH PROPOSED FIELD TRIAL IS DESIGNED TO ACCOMPLISH.

-- SEVERAL PROPOSALS MADE AT SSOD RELATED DIRECTLY TO MILITARY EXPENDITURES. THIS CAN ONLY GIVE ADDED WEIGHT TO THE NEED TO GIVE FURTHER ATTENTION TO INTERNATIONAL MER STANDARDS. (THIS COULD BE URGED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO US POSITIONS ON ANY SUCH SSOD PROPOSALS.)

-- STANDARDIZED MER MAY HAVE APPLICATIONS IN REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES, WHOSE DEVELOPMENT WAS URGED AT THE SSOD. AYACUCHO DECLARATION AND CURRENT REVIVAL OF ANDEAN GROUP ARE CASES IN POINT.

D. 1 FIELD TRIAL SUPPORTERS

USUN SHOULD DEVOTE ITS MAIN EFFORT TO LDCS MOST FAVORABLY DISPOSED IN PAST TOWARD FIELD TRIAL SUPPORT

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AND PARTICIPATION. COUNTRIES VOTING FOR THE US AMENDMENT ON FIELD TRIAL INCLUDED: BAHAMAS, BAHRAIN, BANGLADESH, BARBADOS, BURUNDI, CHAD, COSTA RICA, GHANA, ISRAEL, IRAN, KENYA, LIBERIA, MOROCCO, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE, SINGAPORE, SURINAM, AND THAILAND. (BARBADOS AND SURINAM INDICATED IN REF. D THAT THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN A FIELD TRIAL).

-- LIBERIA SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT ASSISTANT FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID WILSON INFORMED EMBASSY MONROVIA IN APRIL THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY RECOMMENDED PARTICIPATION IN MER FIELD TRIAL TO THE PRESIDENT AND EXPECTED HIM TO ACCEPT (REF.J.)

-- VENEZUELA SHOULD BE GIVEN MAJOR LOBBYING ATTENTION. ITS OFFICIALS CLAIMED IN PRE-SSOD CONTACTS THAT ITS ME ARE REPORTED TO ITS LEGISLATURE IN GREAT DETAIL; HOWEVER, "LOOSENESS" AND "FLAWS" IN PROPOSED REPORTING INSTRUMENT, MAKING IT EASY TO EVADE ACCURATE REPORTING, WERE GIVEN AS REASONS FOR LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FIELD TRIAL. AMEMBASSY CARACAS BELIEVED IN MARCH THAT VENEZUELA COULD BE PURSUADED TO PARTICIPATE, BUT THE SWEDES REPORTED MAY 30 THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO OBTAIN SUCH COMMITMENT. VENEZUELA SHOULD ALSO BE ENCOURAGED TO RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH OTHER AYACUCHO COUNTRIES.

-- KENYA AND COLOMBIA SHOWED SOME SYMPATHY FOR FIELD TRIAL IN PRE-SSOD CONSULTATIONS, BUT WERE NON-COMMITAL WHEN LAST CONTACTED.

-- PERU, PHILIPPINES, SRI LANKA, AND NIGERIA HAVE BEEN UNCERTAIN OR NON-COMMITAL IN CONTACTS AT CAPITALS THIS SPRING.

-- IRAN, ISRAEL, AND TURKEY HAVE NOT BEEN CONTACTED TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, ALTHOUGH, AS INDICATED ABOVE, THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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VOTED FOR US AMENDMENT TO RES. 32/85.

D.2. COUNTRIES RELATIVELY OPEN ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

ACCORDING TO AID, INDIA, BANGLADESH, PAKISTAN, MALAYSIA, SRI LANKA, GHANA, AND LIBERIA ARE AMONG THOSE COUNTRIES THAT REGULARLY PUBLISH RELATIVELY DETAILED BREAKDOOWNS OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS. IT SHOULD BE STRESSED TO THESE THAT PARTICIPATION WOULD REQUIRE LITTLE EXTRA EFFORT. DIVERGENCIES BETWEEN PRESENT NATIONAL BUDGETARY ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES AND DETAILS REQUIRED BY REPORTING MATRIX ARE PRECISELY WHAT FIELD TRIAL EXPECTS TO ENCOUNTER AND ANALYZE. DATA SUBMISSIONS WILL BE HISTORICAL--I.E., ALREADY PUBLISHED DATA--AND NOT RELATE TO FUTURE PLANS HAVING SECURITY SENSITIVITIES.

SUCCESSFUL FIELD TRIAL WOULD ENCOURAGE MORE OPENNESS ON PART OF NEIGHBORS OR OTHER COUNTRIES OF CONCERN TO SECURITY. THESE AND OTHER RELATIVELY OPEN COUNTRIES SHOULD ALSO BE SOUNDED OUT AS TO THEIR LIKELY POSITION ON FALLBACK RESOLUTION (PARA.2). CHRISTOPHER

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TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 217721

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 217721 ACTION USUN NEW YORK
INFO MEXICO STOCKHOLM MOSCOW LONDON BONN TOKYO CANBERRA
VIENNA OTTAWA COPENHAGEN AMSTERDAM WELLINGTON MONROVIA
CARACAS NASSAU DACCA MANAMA BRIDGETOWN BUJUMBURA NDJAMENA
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FREETOWN SINGAPORE PARAMARIBO BANGKOK BOGOTA LIMA ANKARA LAGOS
MANILA NEW DELHI KUALA LUMPUR COLOMBO ISLAMBAD 26 AUG 78.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 217721

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA

SUBJECT: 33RD UNGA: MILITARY EXPENDITURE LIMITATION AND
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THE U.S. BECAME ACTIVE IN MEL FOLLOWING TABLING IN UN IN
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C. US HAS SUPPORTED THE FIELD TRIAL IN THE UNGA AND IN EXPERT GROUPS. WHEN THE 32ND UNGA, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MEXICO AND SWEDEN, DID NOT COME UP WITH A RESOLUTION MANDATING A FIELD TRIAL, US SUCCESSFULLY PROPOSED AN AMENDMENT REQUESTING SYG TO CANVASS STATES ON WILLINGNESS
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TO PARTICIPATE IN A FIELD TRIAL. RESULT OF THIS SURVEY WAS THAT NO COMMUNIST STATE OR LDC AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN FIELD TRIAL (REF D).

D. AT THE SSOD, SWEDEN PROPOSED LANGUAGE IN THE PROGRAM OF ACTION MANDATING A FIELD TRIAL (REF C) BUT WITHDREW IT IN THE FACE OF SOVIET OPPOSITION AND ABSENCE OF COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATION FROM ANY NONALIGNED LDC. MEXICO CALLED FOR SUPERPOWER MILEX REDUCTIONS WITH MINIMAL REFERENCE TO REPORTING BUT DID NOT ACTIVELY PROMOTE ITS OWN TEXT.

E. AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, CANADA, DENMARK, THE NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, SWEDEN, AND US ARE PREPARED TO SUBMIT DEFENSE BUDGET DATA TO A UN PILOT TEST. JAPANESE AND UK PARTICIPATION IS CONDITIONED ON PARTICIPATION OF SOME EAST EUROPEAN AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AS WELL. FRG ATTITUDE IS SUPPORTIVE, BUT STRESSES NEED FOR BROAD REPRESENTATION AND THE SURPERFLUITY OF ITS OWN PARTICIPATION GIVEN THE NUMBER OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

F. FIELD TRIAL CONCEPT HAS GENERALLY GAINED ONLY MILD SUPPORT FROM LDCS, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF RELUCTANCE TO REPORT THEIR OWN EXPENDITURE, BELIEF THAT THE ISSUE IS ONE FOR SUPERPOWERS TO RESOLVE, OR BOTH. TWENTY LDCS VOTED FOR US-PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO RES. 32/85 REGARDING FIELD TRIAL. EFFORTS TO ENLIST LDC SUPPORT FOR FIELD TRIAL AT REGULAR UNGA SESSIONS AND SSOD WERE SUPPLEMENTED BY DEMARCHES IN SELECTED CAPITALS IN SUMMER OF 1977 AND SPRING OF 1978 (PER REFS E, F, G). THESE EFFORTS RESULTED

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G. PROSPECTS FOR A FIELD TRIAL DEPEND ON CONTINUED CONFIDENTIAL

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SWED-SH, UK AND JAPANESE SUPPORT, BUT ESPECIALLY ON SOME CREDIBLE LDC PARTICIPATION. WE ARE ALSO CONSIDERING POSSIBLE FALLBACK STRATEGY AT 33RD UNGA; NAMELY RESOLUTION ENDORSING VOLUNTARY NATIONAL MER BASED ON THE STANDARD FORMAT AS IT STANDS. SUCH RESOLUTION COULD ALSO BE COMPANION TO RES MANDATING PILOT TEST."DISARMAMENT YEARBOOK," MANDATED BY RESOLUTION 31/90, COULD INSTITUTIONALIZE SUCH REPORTING. YEARBOOK IS INTENDED TO CARRY "FACTUAL INFORMATION, AS COMMUNICATED BY GOVERNMENTS OR APPEARING IN THEIR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS ON SUCH TOPICS AS MILITARY EXPENDITURES." (REF. H, P.7). HOWEVER, FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MANDATE FOR FIELD TRIAL FOLLOWED BY ENDORSEMENT OF STANDARD MER FORMAT HAVE PROCEDURALLY BLOCKED USE OF YEARBOOK TO PUBLISH MILITARY EXPENDITURE INFORMATION. THIS RESULTS FROM WESTERN-BACKED LANGUAGE REQUIRING FORMAL UN AGREEMENT ON REPORTING CRITERIA. UNGA RESOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE WOULD REMOVE THIS IMPEDIMENT. SUCH RESOLUTION WOULD MAKE CLEAR THIS IS ONLY A PARTIAL MEASURE.

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THEY WOULD AGREE TO SUBMIT DATA IF FALLBACK RESOLUTION WERE PASSED BY UNGA?

D. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

USUN SHOULD INFORM REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES INDICATED IN SUBPARAS 1 AND 2 BELOW THAT WE ARE HOPEFUL OF PASSAGE OF FIELD TRIAL RESOLUTION IN THE 33RD UNGA, URGE THEIR SUPPORT, AND REMIND THEM THAT WE SEE LITTLE HOPE FOR ME REDUCTIONS, WITH PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BENEFITS THEY CARRY, WITHOUT DEVELOPING ME ACCOUNTABILITY. WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FIELD TRIAL RESOLUTION OR CONCEPT, MISSION SHOULD ALSO MAKE DISCRETE SOUNDINGS REGARDING ALTERNATIVE RESOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE.

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TO A REALLOCATION OF RESOURCES, "TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ASSESSING THE RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF REDUCTIONS AS AMONG DIFFERENT STATES." IN OUR VIEW, THIS CAN ONLY MEAN SOLVING PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON WHICH PROPOSED FIELD TRIAL IS DESIGNED TO ACCOMPLISH.

-- SEVERAL PROPOSALS MADE AT SSOD RELATED DIRECTLY TO MILITARY EXPENDITURES. THIS CAN ONLY GIVE ADDED WEIGHT TO THE NEED TO GIVE FURTHER ATTENTION TO INTERNATIONAL MER STANDARDS. (THIS COULD BE URGED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO US POSITIONS ON ANY SUCH SSOD PROPOSALS.)

-- STANDARDIZED MER MAY HAVE APPLICATIONS IN REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES, WHOSE DEVELOPMENT WAS URGED AT THE SSOD. AYACUCHO DECLARATION AND CURRENT REVIVAL OF ANDEAN GROUP ARE CASES IN POINT.

D. 1 FIELD TRIAL SUPPORTERS

USUN SHOULD DEVOTE ITS MAIN EFFORT TO LDCS MOST FAVORABLY DISPOSED IN PAST TOWARD FIELD TRIAL SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION. COUNTRIES VOTING FOR THE US AMENDMENT ON FIELD TRIAL INCLUDED: BAHAMAS, BAHRAIN, BANGLADESH, BARBADOS, BURUNDI, CHAD, COSTA RICA, GHANA, ISRAEL, IRAN, KENYA, LIBERIA, MOROCCO, NICARAGUA, SIERRA LEONE, SINGAPORE, SURINAM, AND THAILAND. (BARBADOS AND SURINAM INDICATED IN REF. D THAT THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN A FIELD TRIAL).

-- LIBERIA SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT ASSISTANT FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID WILSON INFORMED EMBASSY MONROVIA IN APRIL THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY RECOMMENDED PARTICIPATION IN MER FIELD TRIAL TO THE PRESIDENT AND EXPECTED HIM TO ACCEPT (REF.J.)

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-- VENEZUELA SHOULD BE GIVEN MAJOR LOBBYING ATTENTION. ITS OFFICIALS CLAIMED IN PRE-SSOD CONTACTS THAT ITS ME ARE REPORTED TO ITS LEGISLATURE IN GREAT DETAIL; HOWEVER, "LOOSENESS" AND "FLAWS" IN PROPOSED REPORTING INSTRUMENT, MAKING IT EASY TO EVADE ACCURATE REPORTING, WERE GIVEN AS REASONS FOR LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR THE FIELD TRIAL. AMEMBASSY CARACAS BELIEVED IN MARCH THAT VENEZUELA COULD BE PURSUADED TO PARTICIPATE, BUT THE SWEDES REPORTED MAY 30 THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO OBTAIN SUCH COMMITMENT. VENEZUELA SHOULD ALSO BE ENCOURAGED TO RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH OTHER AYACUCHO COUNTRIES.

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-- PERU, PHILIPPINES, SRI LANKA, AND NIGERIA HAVE BEEN UNCERTAIN OR NON-COMMITAL IN CONTACTS AT CAPITALS THIS SPRING.

-- IRAN, ISRAEL, AND TURKEY HAVE NOT BEEN CONTACTED TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, ALTHOUGH, AS INDICATED ABOVE, THEY VOTED FOR US AMENDMENT TO RES. 32/85.

D.2. COUNTRIES RELATIVELY OPEN ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

ACCORDING TO AID, INDIA, BANGLADESH, PAKISTAN, MALAYSIA, SRI LANKA, GHANA, AND LIBERIA ARE AMONG THOSE COUNTRIES THAT REGULARLY PUBLISH RELATIVELY DETAILED BREAKDOOWNS OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS. IT SHOULD BE STRESSED TO THESE THAT PARTICIPATION WOULD REQUIRE LITTLE EXTRA EFFORT. DIVERGENCIES BETWEEN PRESENT NATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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BUDGETARY ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES AND DETAILS REQUIRED BY REPORTING MATRIX ARE PRECISELY WHAT FIELD TRIAL EXPECTS TO ENCOUNTER AND ANALYZE. DATA SUBMISSIONS WILL BE HISTORICAL--I.E., ALREADY PUBLISHED DATA--AND NOT RELATE TO FUTURE PLANS HAVING SECURITY SENSITIVITIES.

SUCCESSFUL FIELD TRIAL WOULD ENCOURAGE MORE OPENNESS ON PART OF NEIGHBORS OR OTHER COUNTRIES OF CONCERN TO SECURITY. THESE AND OTHER RELATIVELY OPEN COUNTRIES SHOULD ALSO BE SOUNDED OUT AS TO THEIR LIKELY POSITION ON FALLBACK RESOLUTION (PARA.2). CHRISTOPHER

UNQUOTE
CHRISTOPHER

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AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 217721

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 217721 SENT ACTION GENEVA SEP 13.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 217721

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 217721 ACTION USUN NEW YORK
INFO MEXICO STOCKHOLM MOSCOW LONDON BONN TOKYO CANBERRA
VIENNA OTTAWA COPENHAGEN AMSTERDAM WELLINGTON MONROVIA
CARACAS NASSAU DACCA MANAMA BRIDGETOWN BUJUMBURA NDJAMENA
SAN JOSE ACCRA TEL AVIV TEHRAN NAIROBI RABAT MANAGUA
FREETOWN SINGAPORE PARAMARIBO BANGKOK BOGOTA LIMA ANKARA LAGOS
MANILA NEW DELHI KUALA LUMPUR COLOMBO ISLAMBAD 26 AUG 78.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 217721

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UNGA

SUBJECT: 33RD UNGA: MILITARY EXPENDITURE LIMITATION AND
CONFIDENTIAL

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REPORTING (MEL/R)

REFS: A) UN DOCUMENT A/9770/REV. 1, B) A/31'222; A/32/194,
C) A/AC.187/95, D) A/S-10/6 AND ADD.1, E) STATE 169345
(1977), F) STATE 76583, G) STATE 97962, H) A/1/36,
I) A/C.1/32/PV. 37, J) MONROVIA 2893

1. AS NOTED IN FINAL US STATEMENT AT SSOD, US IS DIS-
APPOINTED THAT CONSENSUS WAS NOT REACHED RECOGNIZING

STANDARDIZED MEASUREMENT AND REPORTING OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES AS ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION TO NEGOTIATED MILITARY EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS (MEL) OR REDUCTIONS OF MILITARY BUDGETS (ROMB). FINAL STATEMENT ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT 33RD UNGA WOULD RETURN TO THESE QUESTIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER. THIS MESSAGE OUTLINES THE RECORD AND INSTRUCTS DELEGATION IN PREPARATION FOR UNGA DEBATE.

2. BACKGROUND

THE U.S. BECAME ACTIVE IN MEL FOLLOWING TABLING IN UN IN 1973 OF SOVIET PROPOSAL CALLING ON MAJOR POWERS TO AGREE TO REDUCE THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS BY 10 . UNDER STRONG INFLUENCE OF US EXPERTS, MEXICAN-INITIATED EXPERT GROUP REPORT OF 1974. (REF A), DELINEATED PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED

WITH NEGOTIATION OF MEL IN SOME DETAIL.

B. SINCE 1975, WE HAVE PROMOTED EXPERT STUDIES LEADING TO A RECOMMENDED STANDARD FORMAT, WITH DEFINITIONS AND DETAIL, FOR REPORTING MILITARY EXPENDITURES. THE RESULTING STUDIES IN 1976 AND 1977 (REF B) RECOMMENDED THAT THE STANDARD FORMAT BE TESTED IN FIELD TRIALS WITH PARTICIPATION OF "REPRESENTATIVE" COUNTRIES (THE LATTER REFLECTED ABSENCE
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OF SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES IN EXPERT GROUPS SINCE 1974 AND NOTABLE RELUCTANCE OF LDCS TO JOIN).

C. US HAS SUPPORTED THE FIELD TRIAL IN THE UNGA AND IN EXPERT GROUPS. WHEN THE 32ND UNGA, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MEXICO AND SWEDEN, DID NOT COME UP WITH A RESOLUTION MANDATING A FIELD TRIAL, US SUCCESSFULLY PROPOSED AN AMENDMENT REQUESTING SYG TO CANVASS STATES ON WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN A FIELD TRIAL. RESULT OF THIS SURVEY WAS THAT NO COMMUNIST STATE OR LDC AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN FIELD TRIAL (REF D).

D. AT THE SSOD, SWEDEN PROPOSED LANGUAGE IN THE PROGRAM OF ACTION MANDATING A FIELD TRIAL (REF C) BUT WITHDREW IT IN THE FACE OF SOVIET OPPOSITION AND ABSENCE OF COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATION FROM ANY NONALIGNED LDC. MEXICO CALLED FOR SUPERPOWER MILEX REDUCTIONS WITH MINIMAL REFERENCE TO REPORTING BUT DID NOT ACTIVELY PROMOTE ITS OWN TEXT.

E. AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, CANADA, DENMARK, THE NETHERLANDS, NEW ZEALAND, SWEDEN, AND US ARE PREPARED TO SUBMIT DEFENSE BUDGET DATA TO A UN PILOT TEST. JAPANESE AND UK PARTICIPATION IS CONDITIONED ON PARTICIPATION OF SOME EAST EUROPEAN AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AS WELL. FRG ATTITUDE IS SUPPORTIVE, BUT STRESSES NEED FOR BROAD

REPRESENTATION AND THE SURPERFLUITY OF ITS OWN PARTICIPATION
GIVEN THE NUMBER OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

F. FIELD TRIAL CONCEPT HAS GENERALLY GAINED ONLY MILD
SUPPORT FROM LDCS, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF RELUCTANCE TO
REPORT THEIR OWN EXPENDITURE, BELIEF THAT THE ISSUE IS
ONE FOR SUPERPOWERS TO RESOLVE, OR BOTH. TWENTY LDCS
VOTED FOR US-PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO RES. 32/85 REGARDING
FIELD TRIAL. EFFORTS TO ENLIST LDC SUPPORT FOR FIELD
TRIAL AT REGULAR UNGA SESSIONS AND SSOD WERE SUPPLEMENTED
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BY DEMARCHES IN SELECTED CAPITALS IN SUMMER OF 1977 AND
SPRING OF 1978 (PER REFS E, F, G). THESE EFFORTS RESULTED
IN ONLY FOUR LDCS INDICATING DEFINITE SUPPORT FOR FIELD

TRIAL CONCEPT AND ONLY LIBERIA INDICATING PROBABLE
PARTICIPATION.

G. PROSPECTS FOR A FIELD TRIAL DEPEND ON CONTINUED
SWED-SH, UK AND JAPANESE SUPPORT, BUT ESPECIALLY ON SOME
CREDIBLE LDC PARTICIPATION. WE ARE ALSO CONSIDERING
POSSIBLE FALLBACK STRATEGY AT 33RD UNGA; NAMELY RESOLUTION
ENDORING VOLUNTARY NATIONAL MER BASED ON THE STANDARD
FORMAT AS IT STANDS. SUCH RESOLUTION COULD ALSO BE
COMPANION TO RES MANDATING PILOT TEST. "DISARMAMENT
YEARBOOK," MANDATED BY RESOLUTION 31/90, COULD
INSTITUTIONALIZE SUCH REPORTING. YEARBOOK IS INTENDED TO
CARRY "FACTUAL INFORMATION, AS COMMUNICATED BY GOVERNMENTS
OR APPEARING IN THEIR OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS ON SUCH
TOPICS AS MILITARY EXPENDITURES." (REF. H, P.7). HOWEVER,
FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MANDATE FOR FIELD TRIAL
FOLLOWED BY ENDORSEMENT OF STANDARD MER FORMAT HAVE
PROCEDURALLY BLOCKED USE OF YEARBOOK TO PUBLISH MILITARY
EXPENDITURE INFORMATION. THIS RESULTS FROM WESTERN-BACKED
LANGUAGE REQUIRING FORMAL UN AGREEMENT ON REPORTING
CRITERIA. UNGA RESOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE WOULD REMOVE
THIS IMPEDIMENT. SUCH RESOLUTION WOULD MAKE CLEAR THIS
IS ONLY A PARTIAL MEASURE.

3. INSTRUCTIONS.

USUN IS REQUESTED TO APPROACH DELEGATIONS INDICATED
BELOW TO PRESENT US VIEWS ON MEL/R AND DESIRED UNGA
ACTION AND TO REPORT THEIR VIEWS. IN THOSE CASES WHERE
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USUN BELIEVES NO APPROPRIATE CONTACT IS OR WILL BE AVAIL-
ABLE IN NEAR FUTURE IN NEW YORK, MISSION IS REQUESTED
TO INFORM US PROMPTLY SO THAT WE MAY REQUEST ACTION IN

CAPITALS OR TAKE IT IN WASHINGTON. INFO ADDRESSEES THAT FEEL THEY HAVE NEW INFORMATION THAT COULD BE HELPFUL ARE REQUESTED TO REPORT WITHOUT WAITING FOR AN ACTION REQUEST.

A. SWEDEN

SWEDEN SHOULD BE SOUNDED OUT ON ITS CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS FOR FIELD TRIAL AND ON POSSIBLE FALLBACK RESOLUTION CALLING FOR VOLUNTARY MER BASED ON PRESENT FORMAT. SWEDES MAY BE WILLING TO TAKE THE LEAD ON FALLBACK RESOLUTION IN ABSENCE OF LDC VOLUNTEERS FOR FIELD TEST.

B. MEXICO

MEXICO SHOULD BE SOUNDED OUT AS TO ITS PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD A FIELD TRIAL. SWEDEN REPORTED TO US AT END OF MAY THAT MILITARY CIRCLES HAD VETOED 8NY MEXICAN COMMITMENT TO FIELD TRIAL PARTICIPATION. MEXICO SHOULD BE TACTFULLY REMINDED THAT IN THE DEBATE ON RES. 32/85 LAST FALL MEXICAN DELEGATE (GARCIA ROBLES) EXPRESSED "COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH THE NEED TO HAVE A COMPARABLE SYSTEM FOR STANDARDIZED REPORTING" AND IMPLIED STRONGLY THAT HIS PATIENCE WITH SOVIET UNION, CAUSING HIM TO DEFER PRESSING FOR STEPS ALONG THE LINES OF A FIELD TRIAL, WOULD RUN OUT IF SITUATION REMAINED UNCHANGED AT THE 33RD UNGA (REF I). MEXICO SHOULD ALSO BE ENCOURAGED TO RAISE ISSUE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN LATIN AMERICAN ARMS RESTRAINT INITIATIVE.

C. WESTERN ALLIES

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IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO SOUND OUT UK, JAPAN, AND FRG ON THEIR CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO PRESS FOR FIELD TRIAL NATURE OF SUFFICIENT LDC PARTICIPATION, AND WHETHER THEY WOULD AGREE TO SUBMIT THEIR ME DATA IN CURRENT STANDARD FORMAT FOR UN PUBLICATION, PER PARA 2.G. OTHER COUNTRIES CITED THERE AS HAVING SUPPORTED FIELD TRIAL CONCEPT SHOULD BE CONTACTED TO DETERMINE THEIR PRESENT ATTITUDES TOWARD ALTERNATIVES. CAN WE ASSUME THEY WOULD AGREE TO SUBMIT DATA IF FALLBACK RESOLUTION WERE PASSED BY UNGA?

D. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

USUN SHOULD INFORM REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES INDICATED IN SUBPARAS 1 AND 2 BELOW THAT WE ARE HOPEFUL OF PASSAGE OF FIELD TRIAL RESOLUTION IN THE 33RD UNGA, URGE THEIR SUPPORT, AND REMIND THEM THAT WE SEE LITTLE HOPE FOR ME

REDUCTIONS, WITH PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
BENEFITS THEY CARRY, WITHOUT DEVELOPING ME ACCOUNTABILITY.
WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE FIELD TRIAL RESOLUTION OR
CONCEPT, MISSION SHOULD ALSO MAKE DISCRETE SOUNDINGS
REGARDING ALTERNATIVE RESOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE.

YOU SHOULD ALSO DRAW ON FOLLOWING, AS APPROPRIATE:

-- IN RES. 32/85, ADOPTED OVERWHELMINGLY BY A VOTE
OF 120 TO 2 (ALBANIA AND CHINA) WITH 13 ABSENCES
(SOVIET BLOC EXCLUDING ROMANIA PLUS MAURITANIA,
SWAZILAND, AND UGANDA), UNGA RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF A
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PROPOSED REPORTING INSTRUMENT COULD NOW BE TAKEN. WE
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ISRAEL, IRAN, KENYA, LIBERIA, MOROCCO, NICARAGUA,

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D.2. COUNTRIES RELATIVELY OPEN ON MILITARY
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UNQUOTE VANCE

ORIGINAL DISTTIBUTION: ACDA/POLL,IO,AID,EB,SOE,DOE,REBU,NASA,
OIC,SAS,CEQ,OES,OMB,SIG,ISO,TRSE.

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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